Maine's Changing Population

A Summary of Structural Changes, Mobility and Regional Variations

White Paper

Prepared by The Maine State Planning Office

for

REALIZE!Maine

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April 2004

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Introduction

Young adults are the most mobile segment of the population. Where they live is influenced not only by where they have ties to family and friends, but also by their career choices, their choice of college to attend, their desire to experience different lifestyles, and their sense of adventure and desire to explore that which lies beyond their door.

Concern that Maine is losing its youngest citizens has become widespread. Indeed, Maine's population growth has lagged behind the nation since the early 1990s. There are fewer young adults today age 20-34, and the proportion of children and young adults as a percent of Maine's population is declining.

The fact that young adults make up a smaller portion of the population today than in the past is of great significance. The cause is due less to massive out-migration than to normal aging of the population. The miracles of modern medicine and better diets and nutrition have led to longer life expectancy, thus increasing the portion of elders in our society. The largest age group in the population, both in Maine and nationally, is the "baby boom" generation, which is now largely in their late 40s and 50s. With declining birth rates, the generations that followed were smaller.

This trend will continue for some time to come. The proportion of elders in the Maine population will continue to grow as the baby boomers become seniors. At the same time, it is today's smaller population of children who will become tomorrow's young adults. Given these trends, the population of young adults in Maine is not expected to increase in the near future.

When these changes in natural increase are combined with other factors that influence migration of young adults, such as military base closings and students leaving Maine to pursue college degrees, the result is a net loss of young adults, though it is small compared to most states,

This does not mean that Maine should not be concerned. The growth and well-being of the population and the strength and vitality of the economy are complexly entwined. A growing population of young and well-educated individuals fuels economic growth and in turn increases economic opportunity and quality of life for all Maine residents.

Trends also indicate that there is a growing regional disparity. Youth tend to be more concentrated in the urban counties and in areas where institutions of higher education are located. The data show that these same areas have a higher level of social and economic diversification and offer greater employment opportunities with higher incomes.

The purpose of this paper is to present data to show how Maine's population is changing, the factors that contribute to the trends, and to compare Maine's situation to the national trends. It also examines the mobility of the population both within the state and between states.

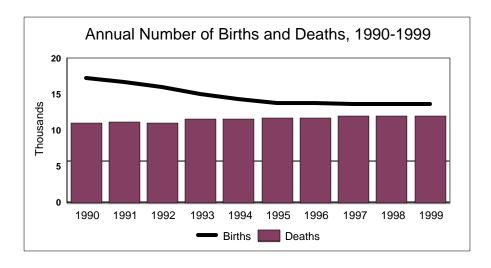
Measuring Population Changes

Maine's population is ever changing. With each passing day, babies are born, some people die, all of us get a bit older. People move across town and across the state. People move in and out of Maine on a daily basis. Measuring population change is a complex process that can be broken down into two key components: (1) natural increase (the net difference between the number of births and deaths), and (2) net migration (the number of persons arriving less the number leaving a particular location).

1. Natural Increase

The rate of natural increase (i.e., the amount of growth in population that results from more people being born than dying each year) in the Maine population has slowed in recent years. The primary reason is the low birth rate. The number of deaths has held relatively stable but is gradually increasing in number. The number of births and deaths are influenced by the aging of the population as well as by social changes that influence household formation and family size.

Figure 1.

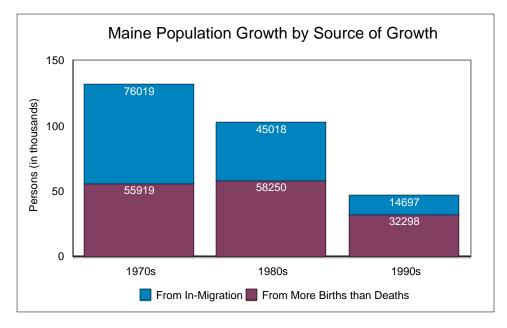


2. Net Migration

Net migration, on the other hand, is influenced by many factors. People move for a multitude of reasons, including the influence of friends and family, quality of life factors and economic conditions. Measuring migration is a more complex process. We should like to know, when analyzing migration, how many people moved to an area during some specified interval and how many left. Unfortunately, we often do not have such direct counts of inmovers and out-movers. However, if we know the size of a population at the start of an interval and its size at the end of the interval and the numbers of births and deaths occurring during the interval, we can calculate the net migration during the interval. Net migration is the gain or loss in population resulting from migration, that is, the number of in-movers minus the number of out-movers.

After nearly a century of net out-migration, Maine began to attract in migrants during the 1970's. In-migration continued at a slower pace in the 1980s and 1990s.

Figure 2.



When the net gain or loss from natural increase and from migration are combined, the result accounts for the change, or net growth in population over a given time period.

Table 1.
Components of Population Change, Maine
Net Migration & Natural Increase, 1960-2000

	Live	Deaths	Natural	Net	Net
Decade		all	Increase	Migration	growth
	Births	ages			
1960-1970	203,484	108,207	95,277	-68,789	26,488
1970-1980	161,680	105,761	55,919	71,751	127,670
1980-1990	167,922	108,662	59,260	43,641	102,901
1990-2000	148,169	116,000	30,975	16,020	46,995

Live Births minus deaths = natural increase.

Natural Increase + net migration = net growth in population.

3. Special Circumstances

Population shifts can be the result of special circumstances that create a sudden disruption. On a local scale, the construction of a nursing home or elderly housing development in a small town where none had existed would result in a sudden and dramatic increase in the median age of the population in the town. The town would have a higher death rate and proportionally lower birth rate, even though the normal forces of natural increase and net migration had not changed.

On a larger scale, changes in the structure and location of military operations had measurable impact on many locations around the nation. In Maine, the changes were of such magnitude to create a statewide impact. The cutback in military personnel stationed in Maine was a major factor contributing to the strong net out-migration in the early nineteen-nineties. When Loring Air Force Base closed in 1994, the Air Force personnel and their dependents plus some Department of Defense civilian employees were moved out of Maine. Although Brunswick Naval Air Station did not close, the numbers of sailors and dependents at the base was reduced. Several naval vessels with their crews, which were in Maine waters and counted in the 1990 census left before the 2000 census and probably well before 1995.

Table 2.

Maine: Partial* Contribution of Military Transfers and Naval Ship Movements to Net Migration in Selected Birth Cohorts between April 1990 and April 2000

Birth Dates	Apr 1980 to Mar 1985	Apr 1975 to Mar 1980	Apr 1970 to Mar 1975	Apr 1965 to Mar 1970	Apr 1960 to Mar 1965	Apr 1955 to Mar 1960	Apr 1950 to Mar 1955
Age in 1990	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39
Age in 2000	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Net Migration between 1990 and 2000	1,484	-14,332	-15,944	48	6,405	3,586	2,163
Partial* Contribution of Military Transfers to net Migration	-604	-147	-1,987	-3,	672	-1,	380
Net Migration Less Military Transfers*	2,088	-14,185	-13,957	10.	,125	7,	129

^{*} Includes Persons Living on Bases and Ships Only. Does Not Include Transfers of Military and Dependents Living off base.

The table above captures the effect of the closing of quarters on military bases and vessels in Maine. The out-migration associated with a base closure is actually much higher, since many military personnel and their families live off base. While it can be determined that a barracks has closed or a ship has left, there is no way to determine how many of the people in a community that moved did so because they were transferred by the Department of Defense.

4. Age-Specific Population Change

Changes in the overall population can be anticipated by making comparisons of the change in the number of persons within an individual age cohort over time. As time passes, the number of individuals that were born during a given period naturally declines as individuals die, and usually the number dying accelerates as the cohort ages.

The size of each age cohort may drop faster than the natural mortality rate if people in that age group are leaving, or if substantial in-migration is occurring, the size of the cohort may be growing in spite of the number of deaths that have occurred.

For instance, individuals born between 1975 and 1980, i.e., totaled 78,472 individuals less than 5 years of age in 1980. In 1990 this age cohort would have been between the ages of 10 and 14. In 1990 there were 84,391 in this age cohort, an increase of nearly 6,000. By the time they had reached age 20-24 in 2000, there was a decline of 13,000 individuals in the cohort. The change in the cohort size over time is the result of the number that have died, the number that have moved in and the number that have left.

Records of deaths make measuring mortality for each age cohort very precise. However, measuring migration is far more difficult. Since the Census Bureau measures population mobility during the 5 years prior to each decennial census, the number moving in and number moving out of a given area is used to estimate a comparable migration rate for the first half of the decade.

The age cohort that is between 20 and 34 in 2000 was between 10 and 24 years of age in 1990. This group of individuals, when tracked over time, lost approxmiately 30,000 members between 1990 and 2000 due to deaths and migration.

Thus, although the census shows that there are 64,000 fewer individual between the ages of 20 and 34 in 2,000 than in 1990, over half of the decline in population in the age cohort is due to simple aging of the population – i.e., the population that was 20-34 in 1990 was between 30 and 44 years of age when the 2000 census was taken. The next group that reached ages 20-34 was smaller to start. Deaths and migration reduced their numbers by 30,000, not by 64,000

Table 3. **Annual Migration Rates for Selected Age Cohorts, 1990 and 2000**

Birth Dates	Apr 1980 to Mar 1985	Apr 1975 to Mar 1980	Apr 1970 to Mar 1975	Apr 1965 to Mar 1970	Apr 1960 to Mar 1965	Apr 1955 to Mar 1960	Apr 1950 to Mar 1955
Age in 1990	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39
Age in 1995	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44
Age in 2000	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Living in Maine in April 1990	88,207	84,391	88,434	86,291	98,671	106,495	101,439
Net Migration between 1990 and 1995	4000	-19000	-35000	-9000	6000	3000	1000
Moved to Maine between 1995 and 2000	20000	3000	31000	31000	24000	17000	14000
Moved Out of Maine between 1995 and 2000	20000	46000	32000	22000	17000	13000	11000
Net Migration between 1995 and 2000	0	-16000	-1000	9000	7000	4000	3000
Living in Maine in April, 2000	88,275	70,655	71,465	85,150	104,198	109,547	102,098
Net change between 1990 and 2000	68	-13,736	-16,696	-1,141	5,527	3,052	659

Age-Specific migration data for Maine indicates that younger adults between 25 and 29 years of age left the State in greatest proportions during the 1990s, with many leaving in the early 1990s when the economy was in recession.

Since 2000, Census estimates show significant in-migration to Maine, most occurring in the last two years. Because economic conditions across the nation, as well as in Maine, have been lackluster at best, jobs do not appear to be the primary motivating factor. It is widely speculated that people are choosing to move to places like Maine in spite of flat job growth due largely to quality of life factors and response to the terrorist attacks on Sep 11, 2001, against which Maine is perceived as a safe place to live. Most of the in-migration estimated to have occurred since 2000 has been limited to southern Maine, primarily to York County. It is influenced by the availability of more affordable housing than exists in New Hampshire and Massachusetts coupled with the opening of commuter rail service to the region, making it easier for people that work in the Boston Metropolitan Area to live in Maine.

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Broad Trends: Maine and National Comparisons

1. How has Maine's Population Growth Compared to National Trends?

During the 1990s, Maine's population grew more slowly than the nation, averaging 3.8% for the decade compared to a 13.2% increase in population in the nation overall. Maine's growth rate was among the slowest, ranking 46th in percent increase in population among the 50 states and District of Columbia.

Recent Census estimates of population for 2003 show the overall growth rate of the nation to be very similar to the growth rate in the 1990s, up by 3.1% in three years. The growth rate in Maine, at 2.2% remains slower than the nation. It is, however, approximately twice as fast as population growth in the 1990s, and raises Maine from 46th to 25th place in growth since 2000.

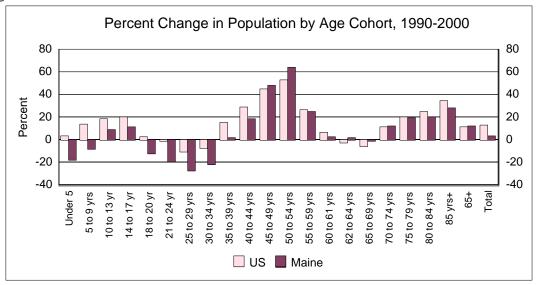
Table 4. **Population Trends, 1990-2000 and 2000-2003, Percent Change**

Years:	Maine	US	Maine's Rank	
1990-2000	3.8%	13.2%	46th	
2000-2003	2.2%	3.1%	25th	

2. Are all segments of Maine's population growing at the same pace?

Though the population has been increasing in Maine and nationally over the past decade, and current estimates show continued growth since 2000, not all age groups have grown. The rate of decline in young children in Maine is among the highest in the nation. Likewise, during the 1990s the rate of loss of young adults is much higher than the national average, though much of the loss was due to closing military bases.

Figure 3.



Census Bureau estimates indicate that this decade has begun with a faster pace of population growth in Maine. The number of young children is still declining, but estimates for 2003 show a slower rate of decline. The estimates also indicate that the out migration of young adults has begun to slow and, in some parts of the state, reverse. However, data for detailed age cohorts above age 24 have not been released. These estimates are preliminary, and are subject to revision. Initial results indicate that most of the in-migration detected is limited to southern Maine, primarily to York County.

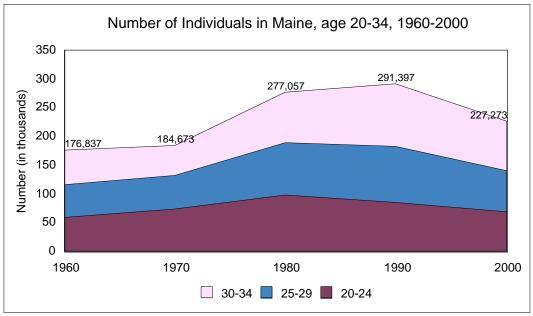
Table 5. **Estimated Change in Population, by Age, 2000-2003**

	Percent Chg:	2000- 2003
Age:	US	ME
Under 5 Tot	3.8	-5.0
Age 5-13 Tot	-1.0	-7.4
Age 14-17 Tot	3.6	1.1
Age 18-24 Tot	6.8	16.1
Age 65+ Tot	2.7	2.6
Total Pop	3.1	2.2

Source: US Census Bureau.

3. Is the number of young adults in Maine declining? The population of young adults between the ages of 20 and 34 increased through the 1970s and 1980s and peaked in 1990, though by 1980 the portion that were under 30 had begun to decline. Between 1990 and 2000, a significant decline occurred, leaving Maine with 64,000 fewer individuals in this age group in 2000.

Figure 4.



Even during decades when the numbers of young adults were increasing, the total population of Maine grew more rapidly. Though Maine has 50,000 more young adults today than in 1960, they make up a smaller share of the State's total population.

Table 6.

Number of Young Adults and their Share of the State Population
1960-2000

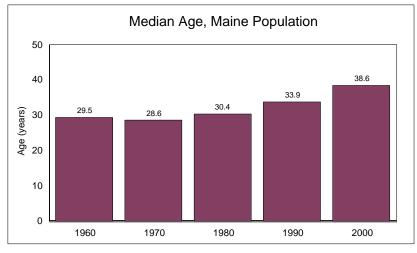
Age:	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
	Number:				
20-24	59,156	74,328	98,271	85,453	69,656
25-29	57,491	58,446	92,007	98,141	71,951
30-34	60,190	51,899	86,779	107,803	85,666
Total	176,837	184,673	277,057	291,397	227,273
Age:	Percent:				
20-24	6.1	7.5	8.7	7.0	5.5
25-29	5.9	5.9	8.2	8.0	5.6
30-34	6.2	5.2	7.7	8.8	6.7
Total	18.2	18.6	24.6	23.7	17.8

4. Why do young adults make up a smaller share of Maine's population today?

Several factors contribute to the smaller number of young adults in Maine's population today. Military bases closed, taking with them thousands of young adults. The population is naturally aging as life expectancy increases and the baby boom population born after WWII ages and the baby boom "echo", i.e., the children of the baby boomers, are now in their thirties. The number of births has continued to decline. Moreover, the population is highly mobile, especially the young.

a. An Aging Population: Maine's population is the third oldest in the nation. Only in Florida and West Virginia is the median age of the state's population higher. Further, Maine's population is aging faster than that of any other state, the median age increasing by almost 5 years, rising from 33.9 in 1990 to 38.6 in 2000.

Figure 5.



Beyond age 35, Maine has a higher percent of population in every age cohort. Under age 35, Maine exceeds the national average only slightly among high school aged teens.

Variation between Maine and US population by age, 2000 (US=0, if no variation, Maine would =0 also) 1.5 0.8 0.9 Variation in Percent 1.0 0.5 0.4 0.5 0.4 0.3 0.3 0.5 0.1 0.0 -0.0 -0.1 -0.2 -0.4 -0.5 -0.6 -1.0 -0.8 -0.8 -1.2 -1.5 85 years and o Under 5 yrs 14 to 17 years 22 to 24 years to 29 years 30 to 34 years 35 to 39 years 40 to 44 years 62 to 64 years 67 to 69 years 70 to 74 years 75 to 79 years 10 to 13 years 18 to 19 years 20 to 21 years 45 to 49 years 50 to 54 years 55 to 59 years 80 to 84 years 5 to 9 years 60 and 61 year 65 and 66 year

Figure 6.

Several State and National Population Trends Contribute to an Older Population.

1. The population of the nation is aging, though at a slower pace than in Maine. Nationally, the median age increased from 32.9 to 35.3 between 1990 and 2000.

2. There is a growing number of elderly.

The number of elderly in Maine has been growing more than 3 times faster than the overall rate of population growth, increasing by more than 20,000 per decade since 1980. In contrast, the elderly have declined as a percent of the US total population (down from 12.6 to 12.4%) since 1990. In 2000, Maine had the 7th highest portion of population age 65 and over in the nation.

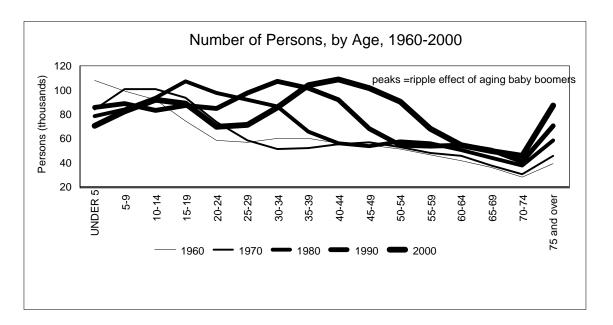
Table 7. **Maine's Elderly Population Trends**

	1980	1990	2000
Population 65+	140918	162862	183402
Percent age 65+	12.5	13.3	14.4
Growth rate:		1980-	1990-
		1990	2000
Elderly		15.6	12.6
Population			
Total Population		9.2	3.8

Maine's growth in elderly population can be viewed as the result of natural factors such as longer life expectancy (sharp rise in the number of "very old, i.e., age 85+), the fact that elderly are less mobile than younger adults, and the state's growing capacity to attract/retain elderly, especially in southern and coastal counties where services, especially access to health care, are greater.

3. The "Baby Boom" generation is aging. Nationally and in Maine, the 50-55 year age cohort had the largest increase in population between 1990 and 2000. In the 1960's most of the baby boom population were children. By 2000, most are 40-60 years old.

Figure 7.



4. The number of children continues to drop. Children continue to make up a smaller share of the State's population. There were 9000 fewer children in Maine in 2000 than in 1990. The greatest decline is among children under age 10, and especially among children under 5 years of age.

Nationally, the number of children (ages 0 to 17) increased by 13% while declining by nearly 3% in Maine. Maine diverges sharply from the national trend largely due to the increase in Hispanic and other ethnic minorities in the US. Mexican Americans alone account for 12.5% of the 2000 population in the US, but make up less than 1% of the Maine population. They account for nearly 20% of the nation's children, compared to 1% in Maine. Higher portions of America's growing minority population are young families.

Table 8. Maine Population under 18 Years of Age, 1980-2000

Age Cohorts	1980	1990	2000	Pct chg (90-00)
Under 5 years	78514	87250	70726	-18.9
5-9 years	84179	88207	83022	-5.9
10-14 years	94277	84391	92252	9.3
15-17 years	64417	50390	55238	9.6
Under 18 years				-
	321387	310238	301238	2.9

Two factors contribute to the decline in population under 18. There is a smaller population of adults in childbearing years coupled with a continued decline in the birth rate nationally. In addition, young adults from Maine that out-migrated during the 1990s are raising their children elsewhere.

b. A mobile nation: Americans are very mobile. Between 40 and 45% of the American population moves within a 5 year period. Most move locally, but a significant number move across the country or around the globe. Maine's population is equally mobile and follows patterns similar to the nation.

The majority of those that move do so locally, within the same county or even the same town. Census surveys show that the primary reason people move, especially those that move within the same geographic area, is housing-related. Over half of the respondents to the Current Population Survey (CPS) conducted in March 2000 reported a desire to move to a better or more appropriate apartment or house as their primary reason for moving.

Households move when their economic situation has changed (hence the need for a lower cost residence or improved capacity to afford a larger or more expensive home) or because their household needs have changed, prompting a move to a larger or smaller home or to shift between ownership and rental. The second most common reason for moving was job related, either due to change of job or for an easier commute.

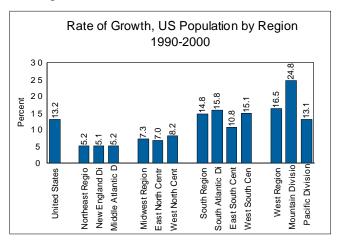
Table 9. **Maine Population, 2000: Movers and Non-Movers**

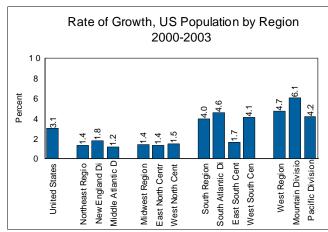
Maine Population:				
Total age 5+	1,193,651		Compared to US:	
Since 1995:	Number:	Percent:	Number:	Percent:
Non-Movers	717,407	60.1	142,027,478	55.7
Movers (exc. from abroad)	472,604	39.6	112,851,828	41.4
Total (excl. abroad)	1,190,011	99.7	254,879,306	97.1
From Abroad	3,640	0.3	7,495,846	2.9

Maine Population that moved, 1995-2000				
(age 5 and over)			Compared to US:	
	Number:	Percent:	Number:	Percent:
Moved within the county	275,685	57.9	(x)	
Moved between counties	92,560	19.4	(x)	
Total Moved in-state	368,245	77.3	90,762,368	80.4
Moved from outside state	107,999	22.7	22,089,460	19.6
Total Movers	476,244	100.0	112,851,828	100.0

<u>1 National Shift to the South & West:</u> The nation's population moved south and westward throughout the 1980s and 1990s, leaving behind northern states in New England, the "Rust Belt" and upper Plains for the "Sunbelt" and Pacific Rim. Estimates to 2003 indicate the pattern has continued into this decade.

Figures 8, 9.





As a result, the nation's population center has moved steadily westward. In 2000, the center was Edgar Springs, Missouri. Fifty years ago, it was in Illinois.

<u>2. State to State migration</u>: Maine, too, is losing population to southern and western states. In the 1990s, Maine population suffered a net loss of 10,500 to these states. Meanwhile, people are coming to Maine from north and central states. Maine gained over 14,000 residents from these states during the 1990s.

Maine residents live in every state in the nation and residents from every other state move to Maine. However, most of the migration between Maine and other states occurs between Maine and other New England and Mid Atlantic States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina) and the three large "destination" states – Florida, California, and Texas.

Table 10. State-to-State Migration, By Region, 1995-2000

Region:	Arriving in Maine from:	Leaving Maine for:	Net gain/loss
New England	42,086	34,444	7,642
Mid Atlantic	15,345	10,859	4,486
Mid West-E	6,630	5,267	1,363
Mid West-W	3,024	2,298	726
Total	67,085	52,868	14,217
South Atlantic	20,010	29,493	(9,483)
South Central-E	2,022	2,948	(926)
South Central-W	3,988	3,991	(3)
Mountain	5,531	6,594	(1,063)
Pacific	9,363	8,465	898
Total	40,914	51,491	(10,577)
All States	107,999	104,359	3,640

5. Are young adults most mobile?:

While the elderly seek warmer climate retirement destinations, the young seek adventure, action, diversity, employment and academic offerings, and the excitement of urban places. Young adults are most mobile of all age groupings. Of the population between 25 and 39 years of age, 65% moved between 1995 and 2000 (compared to 46% for all persons age 5 and over) according to the 2000 Census. Single and college educated individuals in this age cohort are even more mobile. 75% moved during the same period.

Table 11. Movement of Young Adults, age 25-39 in the US, 1995-2000

Mover Profile	Non- Movers	Movers	Type of Move:			
	Wovers		Same County	Dif. County	Dif. State	From Abroad
				County	State	Abroad
Single/college educated	25.0	75.0	28.8	18.0	22.6	5.6
Married/college educated	27.7	72.3	30.3	17.2	18.6	6.2
Single/not college educated	36.8	63.2	37.2	12.7	9.7	3.6
Married/not college educated	39.1	60.9	34.8	12.5	9.5	4.2

6. Maine's out-migration of young adults-how big is it?

Though there are exceptions, young adults nationally are moving toward a group of key states, primarily in the southwest, and in the mid Atlantic area (Maryland, Virginia, Washington DC). Between 1995 and 2000, 33 states had net out-migrations of young adults. Maine had an overall net in migration (3,640 persons), though small, but also had a small (-1,706) net out-migration of young single college educated adults. Overall, Maine ranked near the national average (29th) in migration of young adults between 1995 and 2000. Of the 33 states losing young adults, only 10 had smaller rates of youth out migration. Only 3 states had net losses smaller than Maine. Of those losing, Maine had the 7th smallest loss of population age 20-39.

Estimates prepared by the Bureau of the Census show Maine to have a net in migration of youth between 2000 and 2002.

Table 12.

Net Migration by Age, 1990-2000 and 2000-2002

Migration by Age 1990 to 2000		Migration by Age 2000 to 2002	
Cohort	Avg. Yearly	Cohort	Avg. Yearly
(Age in 2000)	Net Migration	(Age in 2002)	Net Migration
18-24	(1,430)	18-24	870
25-29	(1,590)	25-29	800
30-34	50	30-34	1,720
35-39	640	35-39	1,880
40-44	360	40-44	1,270
45-54	360	45-54	1,130
55-64	620	55-64	300

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7. How Important are the Regional Shifts that are occurring in Population within Maine?

Maine's population growth has been uneven across the state. Between 1990 and 2000, five Maine counties lost population. Although Aroostook had the greatest loss, compounded by the closing of Loring Air Force Base in the mid 1990s, two of the largest urban counties (Androscoggin and Penobscot) also lost population, as well as two of the most rural counties (Piscataquis and Washington).

York County had the highest growth rate (13.5%), followed by Lincoln (10.7%) and Hancock (10.3%) Counties. In actual numbers, Cumberland County gained the most people (22,477) followed closely by York County (22,155)

Table 13. **Maine County Population, 1980-2000**

COUNTY	1980	1990	2000	Pct chg
				1990-
				2000
Androscoggi	99657	105259	103793	-1.4
n				
Aroostook	91331	86936	73938	-15.0
Cumberland	215789	243135	265612	9.2
Franklin	27098	29008	29467	1.6
Hancock	41781	46948	51791	10.3
Kennebec	109889	115904	117114	1.0
Knox	32941	36310	39618	9.1
Lincoln	25691	30357	33616	10.7
Oxford	48968	52602	54755	4.1
Penobscot	137015	146601	144919	-1.1
Piscataquis	17634	18653	17235	-7.6
Sagadahoc	28795	33535	35214	5.0
Somerset	45028	49767	50888	2.3
Waldo	28414	33018	36280	9.9
Washington	34963	35308	33941	-3.9
York	139666	164587	186742	13.5
Statewide	1124660	1227928	1274923	3.8

Maine gained only 47,000 residents between 1990 and 2000. Of these, 32,000 were the result of natural increase, that is, more births than deaths. Two counties, Piscataquis and Washington, had more deaths than births. Over half of the natural increase occurred in two counties, Cumberland (9,506 more births than deaths) and York (7,788 more births than deaths).

The amount of growth from migration into Maine was small, only 15,000 individuals during the 1990s. In all, over 100,00 people moved to Maine during the 90s, but almost as many left Maine, leaving a net gain of just under 15,000.

Nine of Maine's 16 counties had a net out-migration during the 1990s. Most of the inmigration occurred in the same counties that were gaining population naturally. York County had the highest number of in-migrants (14,367) while Aroostook County lost almost the same number (-14,307). Cumberland County gained almost 13,000 from in-migration, while Penobscot County lost 5,358 to out-migration.

Table 14. **Population Change, 1990-2000, by County**

	Natural Increase	Net migration	Total change
County	Births minus Deaths	In-migrants minus	in Population
		Out-migrants	
Androscoggin	2859	-4325	-1466
Aroostook	1309	-14307	-12998
Cumberland	9506	12971	22477
Franklin	674	-215	459
Hancock	12	4831	4843
Kennebec	2208	-998	1210
Knox	4	3304	3308
Lincoln	23	3124	3259
Oxford	429	1623	2153
Penobscot	3676	-5358	-1682
Piscataquis	-287	-1131	-1418
Sagadahoc	1717	-38	1679
Somerset	1235	-114	1121
Waldo	1062	2200	3262
Washington	-130	-1237	-1367
York	7788	14367	22155
Maine Total	32085	14697	46995

Though Maine gained only 47,000 new residents through a combination of natural increase and migration between 1990 and 2000, over 92,000 Maine residents moved from one county to another, further adding to the regional shift in growth and decline across the State.

Table 15.

County-to-County Movement of Maine Residents
1995-2000

County	Arriving:	Leaving:	Net gain/loss
Androscoggin	7,066	8,294	(1,228)
Aroostook	2,357	5,180	(2,823)
Cumberland	18,502	16,885	1,617
Franklin	3,470	2,928	542
Hancock	3,597	3,478	119
Kennebec	9,785	9,043	742
Knox	2,734	2,962	(228)
Lincoln	2,783	2,916	(133)
Oxford	4,157	3,981	176
Penobscot	12,462	10,347	2,115

Piscataquis	1,322	2,231	(909)
Sagadahoc	4,572	4,276	296
Somerset	4,320	5,633	(1,313)
Waldo	3,314	3,630	(316)
Washington	1,649	2,877	(1,228)
York	10,470	7,899	2,571
Total	92560	92560	0

Age-specific regional migration of young adults in the 1990s greater departure of young adults from eastern regions of the state than from western regions, while the population over 35 was moving into all areas of the state, though at a modest pace. Only Aroostook County lost population of all ages, in part due to the closing of Loring AFB, and in part to a historical trend toward declining population in the region.

Table 16. **Annual Rates of Migration by Region for Selected Age Cohorts, 1990-2000**

		9			. 8	.OI 65, 1770 .	
Birth Dates	Apr 1980 to Mar 1985	Apr 1975 to Mar 1980	Apr 1970 to Mar 1975	Apr 1965 to Mar 1970	Apr 1960 to Mar 1965	Apr 1955 to Mar 1960	Apr 1950 to Mar 1955
Age in 1990	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39
Age in 2000	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Western		Livir	ng in Region	in April 1990			
Coastal Region	41,782	38,649	39,558	39,458	48,584	52,841	50,775
Washington and Inland Region Except Aroostook	40,301	39,421	42,575	40,448	42,606	46,348	43,631
Aroostook County	6,124	6,321	6,301	6,385	7,481	7,306	7,033
	Annual Net M	igration Rates	(Number per	r Year per The	ousand 1990 l	Residents)	
Western Coastal Region	2	-15	-4	15	13	8	6
Washington and Inland Region Except Aroostook	3	-16	-28	-10	4	2	0
Aroostook County	-11	-39	-41	-30	-25	-20	-14

8. Where in Maine do Young Adults live?

The number of young adults ranges from less than 14% of the population of Piscataquis and Lincoln Counties to over 20% in Penobscot County. Over half of Maine's young adult population lives in four counties – Penobscot, Cumberland, Androscoggin and York. These counties contain the State's four Metropolitan Areas. Young adults are most concentrated in urban areas and in Counties with significant higher education institutions. They are least concentrated in the mid coast area, noted for the high percentage of retirees and in rural counties.

Table 17

County	Total Population	Age 20-34	Percent
Penobscot	144,919	29,139	20.11
Cumberland	265,612	52,149	19.63
Androscoggin	103,793	20,073	19.34
Maine	1,274,923	227,273	17.83
Franklin	29,467	5,250	17.82
Kennebec	117,114	20,434	17.45
York	186,742	31,892	17.08
Sagadahoc	35,214	6,011	17.07
Waldo	36,280	6,171	17.01
Somerset	50,888	8,594	16.89
Washington	33,941	5,625	16.57
Hancock	51,791	8,419	16.26
Aroostook	73,938	11,898	16.09
Knox	39,618	6,346	16.02
Oxford	54,755	8,307	15.17
Piscataquis	17,235	2,379	13.80
Lincoln	33,616	4,586	13.64

Maine should be concerned about the regional sifts that have been occurring in the past decade. Although expansion and contraction of population over the state have been occurring for decades, as the economy changes and as it becomes more fashionable to live in rural or urban settings, some parts of Maine have struggled, suffering chronically lower income and higher rates of poverty and unemployment. These regions have primarily been geographically remote. In the 1990s, five counties lost population, including two with metropolitan centers, and nine had a net out-migration.

Young adults are found in greater concentrations in urban counties and in counties with major college campuses. Most moving to Maine settle in southern and coastal regions. Preliminary data indicates that in migration of young adults since 2000 has become even less dispersed, and is limited to Southern Maine, primarily to York County.

Summary

Maine's population growth has lagged behind the nation since the early 1990s. Young adults make up a smaller portion of the population today than in the past, due less to massive out-migration than to normal aging of the population. At the same time, it is today's smaller population of children who will become tomorrow's young adults. Given these trends, the population of young adults in Maine is not expected to increase in the near future.

When these changes in natural increase are combined with other factors that influence migration of young adults, such as military base closings and students leaving Maine to pursue college degrees, the result is a net loss of young adults, though it is small compared to most states.

Though these trends are in many ways normal, this does not mean that Maine should not be concerned. The smaller number of young adults is of great significance and has vital implications for the future of Maine and the vitality of its economy.

Where in Maine young adults choose to settle may be of greater significance than how many choose to live here. Regional disparities in Maine have been increasing. Maine's greatest challenge is to learn how to create opportunity for young adults in all regions of the State.